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Justus Lipsius and the Historiography of Libraries

Thomas D. Walker

Justus Lipsius, an important scholar of the European Renaissance, published a treatise on ancient libraries, *De bibliothecis syntagma*, in 1602 and in a revised edition in 1607. As the prototype of early library historical writing, it set the standard for survey studies for the next 250 years. By addressing Lipsius's philosophy of history, his use of sources, and the long publishing history of the treatise and its translations and outlining its place in library scholarship of the period, a foundation is provided for further investigation of library historiography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Introduction

In 1602 Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) published *De bibliothecis syntagma*. Based primarily on the writings of classical Greek and Roman authors, it surveyed the libraries of antiquity by describing their locations, buildings, storage methods, and, to a small extent, their contents. Since it would become the prototype of general library histories for the next 250 years, it should be useful to evaluate this work by examining Lipsius's general historical writing and philosophy of history by identifying his sources for the library treatise and by looking at its lengthy publishing history. With even a short study of Lipsius behind us, it will be easier to examine earlier treatises as well as library historical works of the following three centuries, the ultimate goal being a thorough understanding of the historiographical foundation of modern library scholarship.

Lipsius's treatise is widely cited as the first major history of libraries. Lipsius might have thought it curious to hear himself called the first great library historian. His areas were Roman history, philology, religion, and philosophy. Even within the last of these categories he stated that one

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should not follow any particular philosophy or school. If he had to call himself anything, he was an Eclectic. He carried his versatility to religion, seeming to adapt his denominational affiliation to suit his place of employment, professing in alternate stages of his career to be Catholic, Lutheran, Catholic, Calvinist, and once again Catholic.¹ He was not only diverse in his philosophical and religious interests, but a polymath in his scholarly pursuits as well. Best known for his work in textual criticism and analysis, and for his editions of the complete works of Seneca and Tacitus, he turned to historical topics throughout his career, and it is one of these that became the prototype of early library scholarship.

Lipsius's Historical Writing

Lipsius's scholarly interests were broad and usually connected in some way with the past; his philological, philosophical, and theological works and several of his letters were concerned to a great extent with historical problems and change. He has been described as the first "Kulturhistoriker" of modernity.² One need only look at some of his titles to sense that Lipsius had parted company with annalists and chroniclers and was not headed in the direction of current and subsequent political and military historians.³ Lipsius did not favor lists of rulers, battles, and victories, but preferred to discuss life's historical institutions: the Roman militia,⁴ coins and inscriptions, torture devices (complete with detailed illustrations), gladiatorial combat,⁵ amphitheaters,⁶ and, as we know, libraries. Even the first installment of his planned, but never completed, universal history (*Admiranda, sive de magnitudine Romana*) concentrated on such nonpolitical, nonchronological topics as finance, population, Roman architecture, and statuary.⁷ Many of his works were written during his teaching years and were intended as introductions to Roman history and culture. Such examples include two early works, the *Variarum lectionum* and the *Antiquarum lectionum commentarius*,⁸ both of which were critical studies of diverse passages of classical authors. Likewise intended for students' use were two reference works, *De nominibus romanorum* and *De notis romanorum*,⁹ which were compendia of common Latin names and abbreviations and, for his students at Leiden, the *Tractatus ad historiam romanam*, which was concerned with Roman money, names, and other similar topics.¹⁰ In *De cruce*,¹¹ which was also based on classical and early Christian historians, Lipsius was moved to study—and illustrate in twenty-two detailed engravings—crucifixion as a form of punishment in antiquity because "God, through his own body, honored this horrible type of torture device."

Scanning his historical output in this manner shows some of the similarities and differences between his works as a whole and the *Syntagma*. His sources were similar, and, except for the few occasions on which he exposed

his material in the form of dialogues, the presentation was the same. The major difference was scale; the library treatise was one of his smallest contributions. It has also received little scholarly attention.¹²

Lipsius wrote histories for several reasons. Like many of his surveys of Roman cultural institutions, the library treatise served the needs of students and was widely distributed for over one hundred years after his death. His publications were often based on subjects about which he had been lecturing in his history courses: pronunciation of Latin, abbreviations of Roman names, coins, time measurement, and festivals of antiquity. Lipsius also had religious and political reasons for works such as *De cruce* and two later essays on miracles.

Lipsius gave much thought to the writing of history. On a superficial level, his interest is evidenced in florid dedicatory remarks preceding some of his historical works. He was more explicit in two letters. In one he compared history to a beautiful green field, where the many blossoms of Virtue and Vice were growing. Their seeds were hidden in the ground, but with study one could reap their fruits. He continued by stating that there is no value in simply itemizing events: one should seek causes and motives.¹³

In 1600 Lipsius wrote a letter in response to a certain Nicolas de Hacqueville, who had apparently written him for advice in his pursuit of the study of history. Lipsius's response, thoroughly documented with references to classical, early Christian, Byzantine, and medieval writers, began with a discussion of two major types of history and several subdivisions, perhaps best summarized in the form of an outline (see fig. 1).¹⁴ Lipsius believed that the knowledge not only of the kinds of history but of "Geographia" and "Chronologia" was prerequisite to the writing of history. He stated that the historian's ultimate goal was to write a concise but complete world history, perhaps starting with a detailed chronology, then attempting the history itself. If we were to write such a history, he

Figure 1. Lipsius's Conception of the Major Types of History

Mythistoria: elements of myth and truth

Historia: unadulterated truth, of which there are two types:

Naturalis: natural history

Narrativa: history of sacred or secular events:

Divina

Humana, of two types:

Privata

Publica

said, it would be best to start with the “Divina” subcategory of narrative history, because it was easy and would not take long. For Jewish history, for example, Lipsius suggested using the Scriptures, the writings of Flavius Josephus, and the commentary by Hegisippus. He continued his letter with more instructions and several pages of bibliographical suggestions. He offered suggestions for choosing sources, for organizing one’s research, and for note-taking within the bounds of certain categories—probably best interpreted as being subcategories under “Humana privata” and “publica”—in order to avoid relying on memory alone (fig. 2). Lastly, he suggested that all the categories and subcategories be seen as belonging within the context of any one of four culturally oriented periods: Oriental, Greek, Roman, and Barbarian (fig. 3).

The *Syntagma* fits easily into his scheme of historical classification. As

Figure 2. Lipsius’s Subcategories for a Historian’s Research (including choosing appropriate sources, organizing one’s writing, and taking notes)

Memorabilia: major events

Ritualia, sacra and *profana*:

sacra: gods, their names, their distinguishing characteristics,
offerings, ceremonies, worship, religious buildings, priests,
sacrifices, prayer

profana, privata and *publica*:

privata: weddings, funerals, baths, banquets,
clothing, money

publica: law, judgment and its reasoning, execution,
torture, imprisonment, games,
spectacles, triumphs, festivals

Civilia: government, establishment and overthrow of governments, aristocracy, common people

Moralia: virtue and vice

far as pursuing the goal of an interpretive or conclusive history versus one that simply states facts, Lipsius did take his own advice: he cultivated seeds by studying the information he had gathered, organized, and interpreted and then reaped their fruits by presenting arguments and drawing conclusions.

Figure 3. Lipsius's Division of Historical Periods

Orientalis: of ancient Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia

Graeca: of ancient Greece

Romana:

old: before Augustus Caesar (63 B.C.–A.D. 14)

middle: from Augustus Caesar to the founding of Constantinople
(A.D. 330)

new: after the founding of Constantinople

Barbara: of barbarian, or non-Greco-Roman, cultures

Lipsius's Sources for the *Syntagma*

Lipsius was modest about his library treatise. In a letter of December 1602, a few months after the book was published, he responded to what was apparently a rather complimentary letter from Federic Morel, the printer, by remarking that he was convinced that Morel liked the treatise because he liked its author and that the work was but a small booklet.¹⁵ It may well be a small booklet, but it is dense and well documented. Except for one or two Roman inscriptions that he apparently observed himself or related from another's observation, Lipsius supported his treatise on libraries with quotations from many classical authors, early Christian writers (such as St. Jerome and Eusebius), Byzantine writers (Zonarus and Cedrenus), and one medieval writer (John of Salisbury). Since library-related studies of his time were concerned mainly with contemporary individual collections or the organization and administration of libraries, Lipsius had no need for such sources in his study of libraries of antiquity. His citation practice was simple. He supplied the author's name alone or, more often, added a brief title and volume or chapter reference. When he provided the volume and chapter information but not the title, it was usually because the classical writer was known for having written only a single work.¹⁶ In an orderly format, and by means of over 120 references, Lipsius presented isolated bits of information and arguments based on the works of over 40 writers. It has been stated that in his library treatise Lipsius relied on Latin, Greek, and Hebrew sources, but upon closer examination it can be seen that, of Lipsius's authors, the only one who might have written in Hebrew would have been Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37–ca. 100), who in fact either wrote in Greek or, in the case of his seven-volume *History of the Jewish War* of about A.D. 75, wrote in Aramaic and then translated it himself into Greek. Although Lipsius referred to only

a few more Latin writers than Greek (24 vs. 18), almost twice as many separate references were made to Latin works than to Greek (75 vs. 44). Additional references were made to inscriptions and to vague sources, such as “ecclesiastical writers.”

Among the most-cited authors is Strabo (ca. 63 B.C.–A.D. 21), a geographer who wrote a forty-three-volume history and a landmark *Geography* in seventeen books, which was a kind of historical geography intended for scholars.¹⁷ Lipsius cited Seneca’s works several times.¹⁸ Pliny (the Elder) wrote an encyclopedic *Historia naturalis* containing about 20,000 entries, representing 474 authors and 2,000 writings, which Lipsius called upon at least eleven times. Plutarch, Suetonius, and Aulus Gellius are each represented by several quotations. Athenaeus (A.D. 170–ca. 240), an Alexandrian-born Greek scholar, wrote a work surviving in fifteen volumes, the *Banquet of the Learned*, that covered many aspects of ancient life; it was called upon seven times by Lipsius.

Lipsius also cited Vitruvius (fl. 46–16 B.C.), a Roman writer on architecture, several travelers (Diodorus, Strabo, Athenaeus, and Pausanias), and Isidore of Seville (A.D. 570–636).¹⁹ It can be seen that in this short work—one of his shortest—Lipsius drew upon a very thorough selection of writers, representing a broad array of experiences.

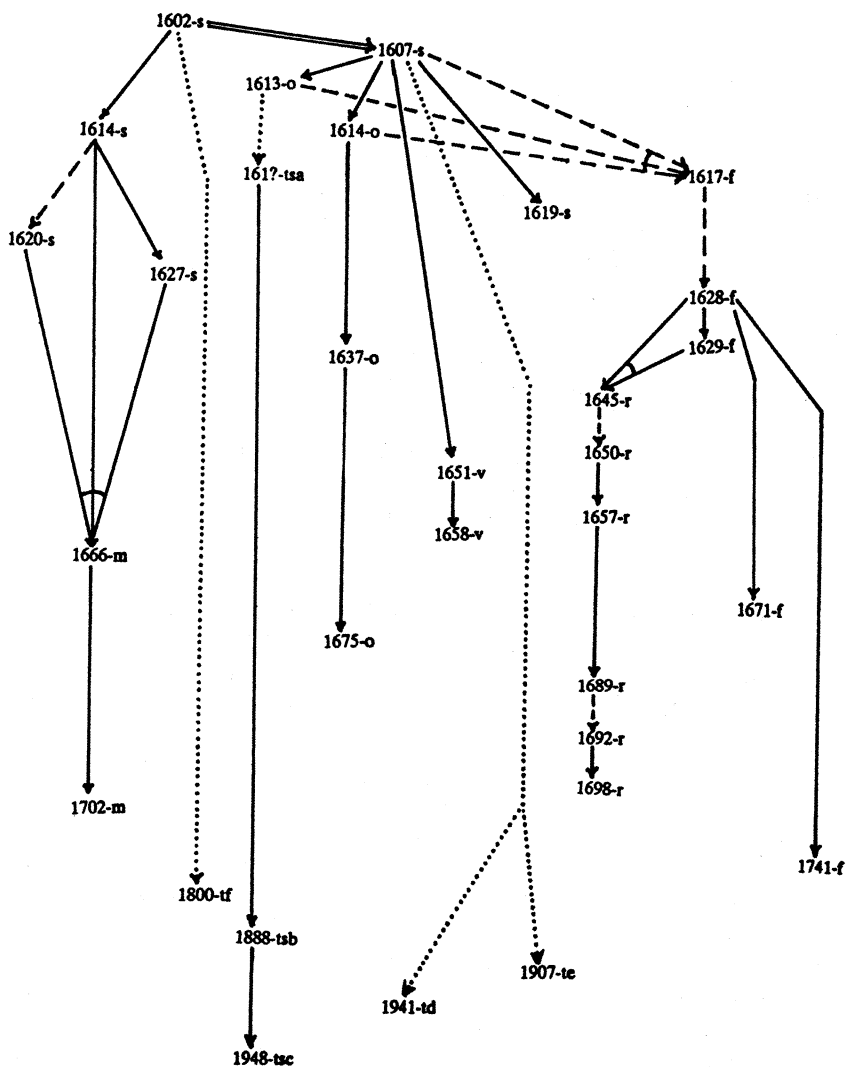
The Editions of *De bibliothecis syntagma*

The success of the work can be judged in part by its large number of Latin editions (twenty-five) issued in several countries between 1602 and 1741 and by its five translated editions (and two unpublished translations) appearing since 1613. Neither the Latin nor the translated editions are based collectively on one *Urtext*; they are a family of three major text groups. The editions are listed in the appendix and are represented in the stemma (fig. 4) by their dates followed by abbreviations further identifying them.

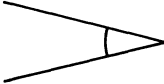
While several earlier dates have been suggested,²⁰ 1602 is generally understood to be the treatise’s original date of publication. Shortly after Lipsius’s death in 1606, Moretus printed a revised version, said to be “the last from the hand of the author.”²¹ The 1602 edition was probably used as a model for the layout and setting of type for the second edition: the paper is of the same size, the type is of the same or similar fonts, and two of the decorated woodcut initials are the same. Likewise, the text of the dedication,²² the censorial approval, and Lipsius’s note to Jan Moretus are identical. Unlike the first edition, the 1607 edition contained the texts of three privileges.

In the revised edition, Lipsius added to or changed portions of four chapters. In chapter 3, he quoted Pausanias to support his argument for

Figure 4. The Editions of Lipsius's *De bibliothecis syntagma*



Legend for Figure 4, p. 55

-
- ===== = changes made by Lipsius
 - = direct textual relationships
 - - - - - = indirect textual relationship (representing substantial changes in text)
 - = translation
 -  = relationship from either source is possible
 - f = edition in *Facis historicae compendium*
 - m = edition in Mader's *De bibliothecis atque archivis*
 - o = edition within an *Opera omnia* collection
 - r = edition in *Roma illustrata*
 - s = separate edition
 - td = Dutch translation (Sobry 1941)
 - te = English translation (Dana 1907)
 - tf = French translation (Peignot 1800)
 - tsa = Spanish translation (Diego ms., between 1613 and 1617)
 - tsb = Spanish translation (Diego printed edition, 1888)
 - tsc = Spanish translation (López 1948)
 - v = edition in Vossius et al. collection

the existence of Athenian libraries.²³ In chapter 8, he inserted one sentence stating that the grammarian Tyrannio owned 3,000 books.²⁴ More substantial were changes in the ninth chapter, in the 1602 edition of which (pp. 27–28), Lipsius discussed the use of glass and ivory and suggested that glass was used for the protection of the books and at the same time allowed them to be seen. He abandoned that argument in the 1607 edition (pp. 27–29) in favor of a longer explanation of the use of glass as decoration, this time supported by quotes from Pliny, Seneca, Vopiscus, and Boethius, and referred the reader to his own work on Roman baths, in which he discussed the use of decorative glass. The most immediately noticeable changes were introduced in chapter 10 of the 1607 edition by the addition of a passage regarding the placement of busts or other likenesses of the gods or of famous authors and supported by references to the works of Juvenal and Cicero.²⁵

As can be seen on the stemma, one branch of editions was derived from the 1602 edition without having been influenced by the changes in the second edition. However, it was important because it provided a link to a well-known anthology of source readings in library history and management. The edition of 1614, which was accompanied by Isidor of Seville's

brief “Originum de bibliothecis,”²⁶ and that of 1620, accompanied by Isidore’s text and Fulvio Orsini’s *Commentatio de bibliothecis*,²⁷ provided J. J. Mader with a core group of three important works on libraries for his influential *De bibliothecis atque archivis*, which is thought by some to have been the first important work in library science.²⁸ Based on internal evidence, it is also possible to assign Gabriel Peignot’s French translation of 1800 to this branch.²⁹

Slightly more complicated is the branch of editions and translations derived from the 1607 Antwerp edition. A separate quarto edition was published in Antwerp (B. Moretus, 1619; *BL* I, 65) and resembles the 1607 edition in respect to the contents, including the imperial and royal privileges and the note to J. Moretus (it also has the same printer’s device as the 1607 edition). The title page, however, bears the note “Editio tertia, & ab ultima Auctoris manu.” It is indeed the third edition of Moretus, as well as the last from the hand of the author, but its text remained virtually unchanged from the second edition. Jan or Balthazar Moretus thus published three separate editions of the *Syntagma*: 1602, 1607, and 1619.

All collections of Lipsius’s works originally conceived of as *opera omnia* contain the text of the *Syntagma* as it appeared in the 1607 edition. The first of the four was published in two double-column folio volumes at Lyon in 1613. It was this edition that was used directly for the early Spanish translation (between 1613 and 1617) and indirectly for the two later Spanish translations.³⁰ Two editions of the *Opera omnia* were printed in Antwerp in 1614 (by the widow and sons of J. Moretus) and 1637 by B. Moretus. The last of the *Opera omnia* (Wesel: Hoogenhuysen, 1675) corresponds textually, with one major exception, to the 1637 edition. Also based directly on the 1607 edition are two editions from 1651 and 1658 in a collection of works by G. J. Vossius, Lipsius, and others.³¹ This octavo florilegium was one of many of its kind and was likely intended for use in the schools.³²

One last group of editions, also probably intended for school use, forms a slightly unusual branch of relationships. In 1617 L. Zetzner of Strasbourg published an anthology in very small format (1 vol., 12^o), *Facis historicae compendium*, that contained summaries of eight diverse “necessary and useful” historical and political treatises by Lipsius, including some of his most novel and entertaining, but not necessarily best, works: *On the Roman Military*, *On Instruments of Torture*, *On Gladiating*, *On Amphitheaters* [*De militia romana*, *De machinis tormentis*, *De gladiatoribus*, *De amphitheatro*], and others as well as his study of libraries, which appears last in the collection. The texts of these treatises adhere only in the broadest terms to the texts of the unabridged editions—some chapters are reduced to only a few sentences—but close comparison demonstrates that the condensed text of the library treatise was ultimately based on the 1607 edition.³³ With some changes, the collection appeared several more times and in different cities in formats

as small as 24^o. Based on either the 1628 or 1629 editions, the contents were reedited and augmented by one additional Lipsius treatise and published in a single-volume 12^o at Leiden in 1645 under a new title, *Roma illustrata*, in which the *Syntagma* is once again placed at the end. Under this title, the collection underwent several changes and augmentations, growing from eight to seventeen summaries in length and being issued in six editions through 1698.

The Translations

At least seven translations of Lipsius's treatise exist, which deal with his Latin with various degrees of success. In the *Syntagma*, his Latin has been described as "rather crabbed";³⁴ in Lipsius's works in general, as "often eloquent; it is free from superfluity, and, though here and there compact to the verge of obscurity, it is for the most part clear."³⁵ Charles Nisard suggested that Lipsius's Latin style was influenced by Plautus, Apuleius, the two Senecas, and especially Tacitus, whose complete works Lipsius edited.³⁶

Some of the difficulties in translating the Latin may be seen as reflected in the translations of the title of *De bibliothecis syntagma*: "Document des bibliothèques,"³⁷ "Traité des bibliothèques anciennes" (Peignot, 1800), "De las librerías, de su antigüedad y provecho . . ." (Diego/López, 1948), "Verhandelng over de Bibliotheken" (Sobry, 1941), and, perhaps least accurate, "A Brief Outline of the History of Libraries" (Dana, 1907). In the dedication of the treatise, Lipsius himself referred to the work as "De bibliothecis," a not unexpected expression, and as a *commentarium* (1607 ed., p. 3). In correspondence he referred to it as a *tractatio* to the Parisian printer Morel,³⁸ and "un petit traicté *De Bibliothecis*" in a letter of 25 June 1602 to J. Moretus.³⁹ Perhaps the best English equivalent would be "A Treatise on Libraries," although Peignot and Diego are correct in qualifying the title with the equivalent of "of Antiquity."

Better known to English-speaking readers than the Spanish and French translations is the English translation by John Cotton Dana (1907). Published originally in 275 copies (25 "on Large Paper") as the fifth in a six-part monographic series, *Literature of Libraries in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, the work was reprinted by Scarecrow Press in 1967. Dana translated the treatise from the 1607 edition, although he acknowledged assistance from Peignot's translation (of the 1602 edition) and from a Miss I. McD. Howell of the Newark, New Jersey, Free Public Library, who provided him with a first draft of an English translation. Unfortunately for English readers, this is the least useful translation. No bibliographic references were given, even if they appeared in Lipsius's original, and no biographical or historical aids were provided. Harry W. Kent wrote a very general preface that introduced several misconceptions into the literature

that have been perpetuated by writers in English.⁴⁰ While it has made the *Syntagma* available to many, Dana's translation is the least satisfactory and should be superseded by a new critical edition.

In contrast, the best and most useful translation is that of C. Sobry in Dutch, with an informative introduction by G. Schmook (1941). Sobry based his work on the 1607 edition and provided bibliographical and biographical information on Lipsius's sources. On several occasions, he referred the reader to Schmook's introduction, which provided documentation on the dedicatee, Charles of Croy, his library, and much background material concerning the *Syntagma*. It is the best-documented translation, if not the most recent.

The Place of *De bibliothecis syntagma* in Library Historiography

Lipsius's library treatise has been called "the first history of libraries in the modern sense of the word."⁴¹ That may be true if we consider modern library historiography to be based exclusively on secondary sources. But if we like to believe that modern library history writing has adopted the philosophical and methodological advances achieved since Leopold von Ranke, then even Edwards's *Memoirs of Libraries* of the mid-nineteenth century could not be considered "modern." It seems more accurate to view the *Syntagma* as the first extant extended survey of a period of library history and the prototype of library histories up to Edwards.

There were few general library histories before Lipsius. Besides the three-volume library history of Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.), which has been lost,⁴² there were no extended surveys of library history before 1600. Renaissance librarians and other scholars published contributions in the areas of bibliography, bibliographic classification, library administration, and accounts of library travel. Many fewer studies of general library history itself have survived from this period. In "De bibliothecis vetustis,"⁴³ Michael Neander (1525–1595) included a brief history of libraries, using methods and sources similar to those of Lipsius, but on a much smaller scale. Neander discussed biblical libraries, unlike Lipsius, but in his description of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman libraries, he cited A. Gellius, Diodorus, Seneca, Asinius Pollio, and Galen, all of whom were cited by Lipsius.

While histories of individual libraries have been relatively common since the late sixteenth century (and some have contained references to ancient libraries), only two other general library histories appeared in the same century as that of Lipsius:⁴⁴ those of Louis Jacob⁴⁵ and Johann Lomeier. Jacob's work has not met with unqualified critical success, but Lomeier's *De bibliothecis liber singularis* has been very well respected, translated, plagiarized, and included in the Mader and Schmidt collection.⁴⁶ Lomeier covers

the history of libraries from biblical times to his own period and includes discussions of library administration, librarians, and current well-known libraries. Because of its large size and broader scope it is difficult to compare it to the *Syntagma*, but some of its chapters do closely parallel the Lipsius treatise. Chapter 5, for example, covers Greek libraries and chapter 6, Roman. Both chapters used many of the same sources seen in Lipsius's treatise. Lomeier expanded the source material to include more recent secondary sources, some of which were available to Lipsius but not used by him (T. Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae* of 1586, for example), and some that were a generation younger than Lipsius, such as those of Vossius.

Conclusion

There remains much to study about Lipsius the historian and his library treatise, especially regarding his sources. A new scholarly edition in English could be the core of such a project. As a landmark of library history literature, the *Syntagma* can provide a starting point in the evaluation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century library historiography. In this period, the course of Western culture itself promoted an environment that produced some of the most important early library-related studies: works on library administration, classification, bibliography, and library history. If it is true, as Ernst Breisach says, that the task of historians of historiography in general "is to trace the ways in which people . . . have reflected on the past and what these reflections have told them about human life in the continuum of past, present, and future,"⁴⁷ then the task of historians of library historiography would be similar. Examining Lipsius and other library historians of the past will provide a foundation for the study of more recent historiography and other library scholarship we recognize as modern.

Appendix: Editions and Translations of Justus Lipsius's *De bibliothecis syntagma*

BB = *Bibliographie Belgica*. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Lenger. Brussels: Editions Culture et Civilisation, 1979. Vol. 6.

BL = *Bibliographie Lipsienne*. 3 vols. Edited by F. van der Haeghen, Th. J. I. Arnold, and R. van den Berghe. Ghent: University of Ghent, 1886-1888.

1. Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1602. *BL* I, 59; *BB* 900.
2. ["Editio secunda, & ab ultima auctoris manu."] Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1602. *BL* I, 61; *BB* 900-901.
3. In *Opera, quae velut in partes ante sparsa, nunc in certas classes digesta*, vol. 2, no. 16, 887-889. Lyon: H. Cardon, 1613. *BL* II, 215-224; *BB* 1018-1020.
4. [tr.] *De las librerías de su antigüedad y provecho, de su sitio, de las estimación que de ellas deben hacer las repúblicas, y de la obligación que los príncipes, assi seglares como eclesiásticos, tienen de fundarlas aumentarlas y conservarlas*. Translated by Fray Diego de Arce. Manuscript (ca. 1613-1617), Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (Mss. Bb 222).

5. [Helmstadt: Jacq. Lucius or his heirs?], 1614. *BL* I, 63; *BB* 901.
6. In *Opera omnia, septem tomis distincta*, tome 3, vol. 2, no. 5. Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1614. *BL* II, 225-239; *BB* 1020-1024.
7. In *Facis historicae compendium*, no. 8. Strasbourg: 1617. *BL* I, 499-500; *BB* 969.
8. ["Editio tertia, & ab ultima auctoris manu."] Antwerp: B. Moretus, 1619. *BL* I, 65-66; *BB* 901-902.
9. Helmstadt: Jacq. Lucius Heirs, 1620. *BL* I, 67; *BB* 902.
10. Helmstadt: [Jacq. Lucius Heirs?], 1627. *BL* I, 69; *BB* 902.
11. In *Facis historicae compendium*, no. 8. Padua: J. Thuilius, (1628). *BL* I, 501-505; *BB* 969-970.
12. In *Facis historicae compendium*, no. 8. Strasbourg: L. Zetzner Heirs, 1629. *BL* I, 507; *BB* 970.
13. In *Opera omnia, postremum ab ipso aucta et recensita*, vol. 3, no. 7. Antwerp: B. Moretus, 1637. *BL* II, 241-253; *BB* 1024-1028.
14. In *Roma illustrata*, no. 9. Leiden: Moiard and A. van Wijngaerden, 1645. *BL* II, 499-500; *BB* 1066.
15. In *Roma illustrata*, no. 9. Leiden: A. van Wijngaerden, 1650. *BL* II, 501-502; *BB* 1066-1067.
16. In Vossius, Gerardus Joannes. *De studiorum ratione opuscula*. Utrecht: T. Ackersdyk and G. Zylii, 1651.
17. In *Roma illustrata*, no. 9. Amsterdam: L. and D. Elzevier, 1657. *BL* II, 503-504; *BB* 1067.
18. In Vossius, Gerardus Joannes. *Dissertationes de studiis bene instituendis*. Utrecht: T. Ackersdyk and G. Zylii, 1658.
19. In *De bibliothecis atque archivis*, edited by Joachim Johann Mader. Helmstadt: Hammius, 1666.
20. In *Facis historicae . . . compendium*, no. 8. Marseille: C. Garcin, 1671. *BL* I, 509; *BB* 970-971.
21. In *Opera omnia postremum ab ipso aucta et recensita*, vol. 3, no. 7. Wesel: A. Hoogenhuysen, 1675. *BL* II, 257-261; *BB* 1028-1029.
22. In *Roma illustrata*, no. 9. Amsterdam: J. Wolters, 1689. *BL* II, 505; *BB* 1067.
23. In *Roma illustrata*, no. 9. London: A. Swalle & T. Childe, 1692. *BL* II, 507-509; *BB* 1068.
24. In *Roma illustrata*, no. 9. Leiden, London: Whitwood, 1698. *BL* II, 511; *BB* 1068.
25. In *De bibliothecis atque archivis*, edited by Joachim Johann Mader and Johann Andreas Schmidt. Helmstadt: Hammius, 1702.
26. In *Facis historicae compendium*, no. 8. Venice: S. Occhi, 1741. *BL* I, 511; *BB* 971.
27. [tr.] "Traité des bibliothèques anciennes, traduit du latin de Juste Lipse suivi d'un supplément sur les bibliothèques modernes." Translated by Gabriel Peignot in his *Manuel bibliographique, ou Essai sur les bibliothèques anciennes et modernes*. Paris: Peignot, 1800.
28. [tr.] *De las librerías, de su antigüedad y provecho, de su sitio, de la estimación que de ellas deben hacer las repúblicas, y de la obligación que los príncipes, assi seglares como eclesiásticos, tienen de fundarlas aumentarlas y conservarlas*. Translated by Fray Diego de Arce [Madrid?]: Hernando, 1888. Based on no. 4, above.
29. [tr.] *A Brief Outline of the History of Libraries*. Translated by John Cotton Dana. (Literature of Libraries in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries 5) Chicago: McClurg, 1907. Reprinted in *Literature of Libraries in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1967.
30. [tr.] "Verhandeling over de Bibliotheeken." Translated by C. Sobry. Introduction by G. Schmook. *De Gulden Passer* 19 (1941): 1-98.

31. [tr.] *Las bibliotecas en la antigüedad*. Edited by José López de Toro. Gallardo, Colección de opusculos para bibliófilos, vol. 9. Valencia: Editorial Castalia, 1948.

Notes

1. Biographical and bibliographical information on Lipsius may be found in many sources. His autobiography (in the form of a letter to Johann Woverius [Jan van der Wouwer] dated October 1600 and published as “Epistola” 87 in *Epistolarum selectarum centuria tertia miscellanea* [Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1605–1607]) and the standard biography by Aubertus Miraeus both date from before 1610. Several national biographies and modern encyclopedias provide concise outlines of his life and works. Jason L. Saunders provides the most extended discussion in English, *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1955), pp. 3–58. Additional general information on Lipsius as a historian may be found in surveys of the history of scholarship by John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (New York: Hafner, 1964, originally published by Cambridge University Press, 1903–1908), and by Harry T. Peck, *A History of Classical Philology* (New York: Macmillan, 1911). See also general reference works on classical scholarship, such as *Harper’s Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, ed. Harry T. Peck (New York: Cooper Square, 1965).

2. V. A. Nordman, “Justus Lipsius als Geschichtsforscher und Geschichtsllehrer,” in *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Ser. B, vol. 28 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1932), p. 70.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

4. Lipsius, *De militia romana* (Antwerp: C. Plantin & J. Moretus, 1595–1596).

5. Lipsius, *Saturnalia sermonum* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1582).

6. Lipsius, *De amphitheatro liber* and *De amphitheatris quae extra roman libellus* (Leiden: C. Plantin, 1584).

7. Lipsius, *Admiranda sive de magnitudine romana* (Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1598).

8. Lipsius, *Variarum lectionum* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1569), and *Antiquarum lectionum commentarius* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1575).

9. Lipsius, *De nominibus romanorum* and *De notis romanorum* in J. M. Dilherr, *Apparatus philologicus continens Justii Lipsii* (Jena: J. Reiffenberger, 1632).

10. Lipsius, *Tractatus ad historiam romanam cognoscendam aptissime utiles* (Cambridge and Leiden: J. Legate, 1592).

11. Lipsius, *De cruce libri tres ad sacram profanamque historiam utiles* (Antwerp: C. Plantin & J. Moretus, 1593–1594).

12. Nordman, in the most detailed study available of Lipsius as historian and history teacher, discusses most of the author’s historical works, but mentions the *Syntagma* in only one-half of one sentence (“Justus Lipsius,” p. 43).

13. Letter to Guillaume d’Assonleville, dated 1596 and quoted in *ibid.* (pp. 51–52).

14. It was published separately several times (see *BL* or *BB*, in the appendix), in the *Opera omnia* collections of 1613, 1614, 1637, and 1675 (as no. 61 of *Epistolarum selectarum centuria tertia miscellanea*, as well as in the G. J. Vossius/Lipsius collections of 1651 and 1658, *De studiorum ratione opuscula* (Utrecht: T. Ackersdyk and G. Zylli, 1651), and *idem, Dissertationes de studiis bene instituendis* (Utrecht: T. Ackersdyk and G. Zylli, 1658). The versions of the letter consulted for figures 1–3 were those of the 1637 Antwerp *Opera omnia* (vol. 2, pp. 282–288) and 1675 Wesel *Opera omnia* (vol. 2, pp. 282–288).

15. From "Epistola VII" in *Epistolarum selectarum*, quoted by G. Schmook in his introduction to Lipsius, "Verhandelning over de Bibliotheken," translated by C. Sobry, *De Gulden Passer* 19 (1941): 2.

16. A passage from Cedrenus's world history, for example, was cited in Lipsius's second chapter not by its name, but by its volume number alone: "Lib. XXII."

17. Lipsius may have used the first printed edition (Venice, 1516) or what is even today considered to be one of the best editions, that of his contemporary Casaubon (Geneva, 1587), which has been reprinted many times.

18. That he knew them well is demonstrated by his having edited Seneca's tragedies (Leiden, 1588) and complete prose works (Antwerp, 1605).

19. Isidore greatly influenced culture and literature of the Middle Ages through his *Origines*. Excerpts from his writing on libraries appeared with Lipsius's treatise in the 1614 and 1620 Helmstadt editions and in the Mader and Mader and Schmidt collections of 1666 and 1702.

20. The *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875-1912, vol. 18, p. 7440) lists an edition of the *Syntagma* from 1585. There are no known copies bearing that date; nor are there any other supporting clues. The collected works and *Opera omnia* appearing before 1602 do not contain the *Syntagma*. It could, however, be a misprint for 1595, which, though still wrong, could be explained in at least two ways. In the *Biographisch Woordenboek* of Abraham Jacob van der Aa (Haarlem: Brederode, 1852-1878, vol. 11, pp. 514-515) the treatise's date is listed as 1595. The source of its information is not supplied but it could have been Frédéric A. F. T. Reiffenberg's *De Iusti Lipsii vita et scriptis commentarius* (Brussels: de Mat, 1823, p. 175), in which the first edition of the *Syntagma* is said to have been published in Antwerp (in octavo) in 1595. Again, there are no such copies known to be extant and no further documentation supporting 1595. In Lipsius's 1600 list of his own works in his autobiographical letter to Woverius, the library treatise does not appear.

21. From the title page of this edition: "ab vltimâ auctoris manu."

22. The dedication to Prince Charles, duke of Croy and Arschott, in each of first two editions carries the same date: 12 July 1602. This date appears in all subsequent editions of the *Syntagma* in which the dedication appears, a circumstance that has led to some confusion.

23. *Syntagma* (1607), p. 15, lines 10-12: "Imo plures ibi Bibliothecae postea: & Hadrianus Imp. Jouis Panellenj aedem Athenis struxit, et in ea Bibliothecam, Pausaniae scriptum."

24. *Syntagma* (1607), p. 25, lines 15-17: "Sicut Tyrannio Grammaticus, Sullae temporibus: qui tri millia librorum possedit."

25. *Syntagma* (1602), p. 31; (1607), p. 31.

26. This was an excerpt from the sixth volume of Isidore, bishop of Seville's (c. 570-636) encyclopedic compilation of knowledge from ancient sources, *Origines*. Lipsius cited Isidore in the *Syntagma* and in other works as well. The *Origines* was so highly regarded as a source of classical knowledge that it often took the place of the study of the classical authors themselves (see Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1, p. 475).

27. Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600), librarian to three Roman cardinals in succession after 1559, formed a large manuscript and printed book collection that served as a source for much of the Latin scholarship of his time. This edition of Lipsius's work is the second edition published in Helmstadt, the "edition secunda helmstadtae," which apparently led John Thornton to believe it to be the second edition published anywhere (see Thornton's *Classics of Librarianship* [London: Library Association, 1957], p. 6).

28. Joachim Johann Mader's anthology *De bibliothecis atque archivis* (Helmstadt: Hammius, 1666) and its expanded version edited by Johann Andreas Schmidt (3 vols.; Helmstadt: Hammius, 1702, 1703, and 1705) have not been studied by scholars in detail, but are occasionally cited in the literature and have been influential in the study of libraries and library history. The 1666 edition presented works by Isidore of Seville, Lipsius, Orsini, Guido Panciroli (1523–1599, an archaeologist and law professor at Padua), Bartholomaeus Cassaneus (1529–1597), Francesco Patrizzi, Michael Neander (1525–1595, a writer of textbooks), Onofrio Panvinio (1529–1568), Maturin Cordier (1479–1564), and an excerpt from Giacomo Filippo Tomasini's 1639 *Bibliothecae patavinae*. Schmidt added such landmark works as De Bury's *Philobiblon*, Naude's *Advis* (translated into Latin), and Johann Lomeier's *De bibliothecis*.

29. Peignot stated in the introduction to his library manual that he thought much of Lipsius's work as a survey of ancient library history and that to avoid constant references to it he wanted to include it in its entirety at the beginning of his *Manuel bibliographique* (Paris: Peignot, 1800), p. vi. He did in fact expand and omit sections, but despite these changes in the text, enough remains to identify the source text as that of 1602—the only edition of the work he cited in his manual's bibliography of important works by Lipsius.

30. The Spanish translation was first made by Fray Diego de Arce (1552–1617) and is now preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional (Mss. Bb 222). Its text was the basis for the 1888 edition of 120 copies by Viuda de Hernanda (see José López de Toro's *Las bibliotecas en la antigüedad* [Valencia: Editorial Castalia, 1948], pp. xvii–xviii) and for the 1948 López de Toro edition of 500 copies.

31. Gerard Johann Vossius (1577–1649) was one of the greatest scholars of the generation after Lipsius and was known for his *Latin Grammar* (1607) and his teaching and writing on grammar, rhetoric, and history of literature.

32. Lipsius's works were commonly used in the schools. Concerning editions in small format, his printer, Plantin, was advised that "it would be better not to print too many copies of [*De constantia*] in quarto for the French market, but rather to make a *petit manuel* of it for schoolboys" (Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. [Amsterdam: Van Gendt (1969)], vol. 2, p. 164).

33. Some of the additions to chapters 3 and 10 found in the 1607 edition appear in the condensed version. Of course, the short version could have used as a model one of the other pre-1617 editions that were based in turn on that of 1607.

34. See the J. C. Dana edition of the *Syntagma* in the appendix above, p. 23.

35. Basil Anderton, *Sketches from a Library Window* (New York: Appleton, 1923), p. 27.

36. Charles Nisard, *Le triumvirat littéraire au XVI^e siècle, Juste Lipse, Joseph Scaliger, et Isaac Casaubon* (Paris: Amyot, 1852), pp. 140–141.

37. Louis Jacob St. Charles, *Traité des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières, qui ont esté, & qui sont à present dans le mond* (Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644).

38. Lipsius, *Epistolarum selectarum centuria prima miscellanea* (Antwerp: J. Moretus, 1605–1607), vol. 2, no. 7.

39. *La correspondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus*, ed Alois Gerlo and Hendrik D. L. Vervliet (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1967), pp. 158–159.

40. Kent was very confused about the editions of the treatise (see his preface to Dana's translation of the *Syntagma*, p. 17) and, judging from Lipsius's output as a whole, overestimated Lipsius's enthusiasm for the subject (p. 15). On Kent's

foundation, several writers in English have built an inaccurate literature that perpetuates and even enlarges upon misconceptions concerning the existence and dating of early editions of the treatise and Lipsius's historiography in general.

41. Kent (in his preface to Dana's translation of the *Syntagma*), p. 14.

42. Varro wrote at least 74 works, in 620 "books," of which only a few are extant. See Frederick J. Teggart's "Contribution towards a Bibliography of Ancient Libraries," *Library Journal* 24 (January 1899): 5-12, 57-59. Also useful is Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1, p. 178. Between Varro's time and the founding of Constantinople, writers usually discussed libraries within larger contexts, such as histories of the world, or through asides in books on other topics, or in the course of their travel accounts.

43. In Neander's *Graecae linguae erotemata* (Basel, 1565). Also in Mader and Schmidt's *De bibliothecis atque archivis* under the title "De bibliothecis deperditis ac noviter instructis" (1702), pp. 37-53.

44. For a list of about twenty-five works on ancient libraries, most on individual libraries or on libraries of a region, see P. Namur, *Bibliographie Paléographique—diplomatique—bibliologique générale ou répertoire systématique* (Liège: Collardin, 1838), vol. 2, pp. 142-143.

45. See note 37.

46. Zutphen and Amsterdam: H. Beeren, 1669; 2nd ed., Utrecht: Ribbuis, 1680. In Mader and Schmidt, *De bibliothecis atque archivis* (1702), vol. 2.

47. Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 3.